DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 230 891 CG 016 758

AUTHOR Kamins, Richard
TITLE Effects of Insult and Perceived Similarity on Observers' Causal Attributions.
PUB DATE Aug 82
NOTE 20p.; Paper presented at the Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association (90th, Washington, DC, August 23-27, 1982).
PUB TYPE Reports - Research/Technical (143) -- Speeches/Conference Papers (150)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Attribution Theory; Behavior Patterns; *Bias; College Students; Congruence (Psychology); Etiology; Higher Education; Interaction; *Interpersonal Attraction; *Motivation; *Observation; Social Cognition
IDENTIFIERS *Insults

ABSTRACT

Self-serving biases in attribution have been widely explored; however, the effects of motivational factors on observers' causal attributions have been neglected in attribution research. To investigate these effects, observers' liking and perceived similarity toward a target person were manipulated. Subjects were 80 college students. The observer role was also manipulated, with subjects being either passive or active observers. Results showed that subjects insulted by a target person made significantly different attributions about the target person's behavior than non-insulted subjects. In addition, a significant interaction occurred between the insult conditions and the similarity conditions; attributions about the negative behavior of the target person were affected most by these motivational factors. Neutral behaviors were not affected. Observer role did not affect subjects' attributions as predicted. The findings have clinical relevance for therapists who need to be aware of the ways in which motivation and perceived similarity to clients may affect their causal attributions. (Author/JAC)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED230891

Effects of Insult and Perceived Similarity on Observers' Causal Attributions

Richard Kamins

University of Alabama

CG 016758

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

X This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official NIE position or policy.

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Richard Kamins

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

Abstract

Self-serving biases in attribution have been widely explored; however, the effects of motivational factors on observers' causal attributions have been relatively neglected in attribution research. To investigate these effects, the present experiment manipulated the observers' liking and perceived similarity toward a target person. Observer role was also manipulated, with subjects being either passive or active observers. Subjects insulted by a target person made significantly different attributions about the target person's behavior than non-insulted subjects. In addition, a significant interaction occurred between the insult conditions and the similarity conditions. Attributions about negative behavior of the target person were affected most by these motivational factors, whereas neutral behaviors were not affected. Observer role did not affect subjects' attributions as predicted. Discussion reports contribution of this experiment to attribution research and specifies its clinical relevance.

Effects of Insult and Perceived Similarity
on Observers' Causal Attributions

Heider (1958) suggested that people attempt to bring order and meaning to their world by determining the causal antecedents of events. Heider's proposition has come to be known as attribution theory. Since Heider's proposal, Jones and Davis (1965) and Kelly (1967) have expanded on describing the attribution process. Based on these seminal works, Jones and Nisbett (1972) proposed that an actor--that is, the individual who performs a given behavior--and the observer of the behavior tend to differ in their causal attributions about the actor's behavior. They theorized that actors tend to perceive their behavior as a response to situational cues, while observers tend to perceive the behavior as a manifestation of a disposition or quality possessed by the actor.

When Jones and Nisbett (1972) proposed the actor-observer bias in causal attribution, they hypothesized the difference was due to cognitive or informational factors (e.g., differences in focus of attention and available information between actor and observer). In their proposal, the authors remarked briefly that motivational factors had some effect on actor and observer attribution. For example, the authors stated that actors, for ego-enhancing reasons, would attribute negative behavior to situational factors. Ample evidence supports this proposed self-serving bias with respect to actor attribution (see Bradley, 1978).

In addition, Jones and Nisbett (1972) made several predictions about motivational factors that would affect observers' attributions. They stated the need for perceived control on the part of the observer would tend to cause the observer to make dispositional attributions about any actor with respect to his or her behavior. The need for control produces a tendency for the observer to make dispositional attributions, "even when the act in question is neutral affectively and morally and when the observer holds a neutral opinion toward the actor (Jones & Nisbett, 1972, p. 93). Further, they proposed that observers' affect toward the actor (e.g., liking or disliking) and their opinion toward the actor's behavior (e.g., praiseworthy or blameworthy) would influence their attributions of the actor's behavior. They believed these motivational factors might

exaggerate the already existing actor-observer bias in causal attribution, or, in some cases, reverse this bias in the opposite direction.

As stated, the "normal" actor-observer divergency of causal attribution can be attenuated or ameliorated when: (a) the actor's behavior is not morally and affectively neutral, and (b) the observer does not hold a neutral opinion toward the actor. In evaluation of these two factors on observers' causal attributions, Jones and Nisbett (1972) suggested that a liked actor would tend to have his or her positive behavior attributed to dispositional factors and negative behavior attributed to situational factors, whereas a disliked actor would tend to have his or her positive behavior attributed to situational factors and negative behavior to dispositional factors. The authors did not hypothesize how neutral behavior of a liked or disliked actor would be attributed by observers. Nevertheless, an interaction was predicted between these two motivational factors.

Two studies (Imamoglu, 1976; Regan, Straus, & Fazio, 1974) appear to support this contention by Jones and Nisbett (1972), but both studies have interpretation difficulties that limit their findings. The former study had the subjects (children aged five to ten years old) view two sketches with an actor performing a behavior with a positive or negative outcome. Half the subjects were informed that the actor was a nice child like themselves, whereas the other subjects were told the actor was bad and dissimilar to them. Results supported the Jones and Nisbett (1972) predictions; however, findings must be viewed with caution since it was not verified whether the subjects actually liked or disliked the nice and bad actors. In addition, results were confounded by the fact that the nice child was referred to as similar to the subjects and the bad child as someone dissimilar. Thus, subjects may have responded the way they had for self-serving purposes.

Regan et al. (1974) made similar predictions to the previous study, but used a "polite" actor with similar attitudes to subjects in the liking condition and an "obnoxious" actor with dissimilar attitudes to subjects in the disliking condition. One methodolgical problem in this study was that since the liked actor behaved politely and appeared similar to the subjects, and the disliked actor behaved rudely and appeared dissimilar, it is impossible to know if the results were due to the actor's polite or obnoxious behavior, or to the similarity-dissimilarity manipulation.

To summarize, Jones and Nisbett (1972) proposed that motivational factors may influence observers' causal attributions about positive and negative behavior performed by actors. They suggested that when observers have positive regard toward an actor, the observers will tend to attribute the actor's positive behavior to dispositional factors, while a negatively regarded actor will have his or her positive behavior attributed to situational factors. On the other hand, observers will tend to attribute negative behavior to situational factors when performed by a liked actor, yet they attribute this same behavior to dispositional factors when performed by a negatively regarded actor. Only two experiments (Imamoglu, 1976; Regan et al., 1974) have investigated this proposed interaction, but their support must be limited by their flaws in design.

Of additional relevance to the present experiment is the research in similarity and attraction. Many studies (e.g., Byrne, 1961; Byrne & Nelson, 1965; Stein, Hardyck, & Smith, 1965) have demonstrated that attraction and similarity are positively correlated. In most cases, similarity enhances liking, while dissimilarity decreases liking.

Since liking and perceived similarity are positively correlated, it would seem that similarity would act in the same manner as liking or other positivemotivational factors in influencing observers' causal attributions. Thus, it would be predicted that if observers perceive themselves similar to an actor they would tend to attribute the actor's positive behavior to dispositional factors and attribute negative behavior to situational factors, such as they do with a liked actor. In contrast, if the observers feel dissimilar to the actor, they will tend to attribute the actor's positive behavior to situational factors and attribute negative behavior to dispositional factors (in the same tendency as with a disliked actor). Unfortunately, empirical support for this relationship is lacking.

Because of the positive correlation between liking and similarity, it seems logical to assume similarity affects observers' causal attributions in the same manner as does liking. This may be the case in most circumstances; however, several studies (e.g., Novak & Lerner, 1968; Taylor & Mettee, 1971) revealed that similarity may produce dislike or contempt in specific situations. This appears to happen when the similar other acts in some undesirable fashion. Theoretically, this occurs

because subjects feel more threatened by an undesirable similar other than an undesirable dissimilar other. For instance, in the Taylor and Mettee (1971) study, subjects interacted with a confederate who either acted pleasantly or obnoxiously and who was also presented to be either similar or dissimilar to them. Results demonstrated that subjects liked a pleasant acting similar other more than a pleasant acting dissimilar other, but disliked an obnoxious acting similar other more than an obnoxious acting dissimilar other.

Relating these results from the Taylor and Mettee (1971) experiment to the earlier discussion of causal attribution, it would be predicted that if an actor behaved in an undesirable fashion, then observers would tend to make more dispositional attributions about the positive behavior of a dissimilar actor than of a similar actor. Further, if the actor behaved in an undesirable fashion, observers would tend to make less dispositional attributions about the negative behavior of a dissimilar actor than a similar one. This is the opposite attribution tendency as describe earlier in "normal" circumstances.

To test these suggested interactions and predictions, this experiment employed a target person who was made to appear similar or dissimilar to the subjects. The target person either insulted the subject (to create negative affect, which was supported by a manipulation check) or stated neutral regard. Subjects then answered questionnaires designed to measure their causal attributions concerning the target person's positive, neutral, and negative behaviors.

In addition, the present experiment tested the preceding predictions by employing both passive and active observers. This factor constituted the third independent variable to join the other two independent variables of observer affect toward the actor and perceived similarity-dissimilarity. Studies by Berscheid, Graziano, Monson, and Dermer (1976) and Miller and Norman (1975) found that active observers (participants who not only observe, but behaviorally interact with the actor) tend to make a higher percentage of dispositional attributions and have more confidence in their ratings of causal attributions than do passive observers. Since in everyday life people tend to be active observers, this may be an essential variable to include, not only in the present experiment, but in similar investigations on observers' causal attributions.

The following hypotheses are based on the literature. The term "dispositional index" that is used in the hypotheses refers to the relative influence of dispositional factors to situational factors, which subjects' used in attributing the target person's behavior. The higher the dispositional index score, the greater the influence dispositional attributions are given.

I. A main effect for the insult variable will occur (Imamolgu, 1976; Jones & Nisbett, 1972; Regan et al., 1974). Specifically, subjects in the insult condition will have lower dispositional index scores about the positive behavior of the target person than subjects in the no insult condition, whereas, subjects in the insult condition will have higher dispositional index scores about the neutral and negative behaviors of the target person than subjects in the no insult condition.

II. A significant interaction will occur between insult/no insult conditions and similarity/dissimilarity conditions (Novak & Lerner, 1968; Taylor & Mettee, 1971). Specifically, subjects in the insult-similar condition will have lower dispositional index scores about the positive behaivor of the target person than subjects in the insult-dissimilar condition; whereas subjects in the no insult-similar condition will have higher dispositional index scores about the positive behavior of the target person than subjects in the no insult-dissimilar condition. In contrast, subjects in the insult-similar condition will have higher dispositional index scores about the neutral and negative behaviors of the target person than subjects in the insult-dissimilar condition; whereas subjects in the no insult-similar condition will have lower dispositional index scores about the neutral and negative behaviors of the target person than subjects in the no insult-dissimilar condition.

III. Overall, subjects' attributions about negative behaviors of the target person will tend to be more dispositional than attributions about positive behaviors; and attributions about positive behaviors will tend to be more dispositional than attributions about neutral behaviors (Jones & Davis, 1965).

IV. With respect to all three types of the target person's behavior, subjects in the active observer role will have higher dispositional index scores than subjects in the passive observer role (Berscheid et al., 1976; Miller & Norman, 1975).

Method

Design and Subjects

Three independent variables, insult, similarity, and observer role, were manipulated. The experimental design was a 2 (insult vs. no insult) X 2 (similar vs. dissimilar) X 2 (passive vs. active) factorial. Subjects used in this experiment were 80 students, 40 males and 40 females, enrolled in Introductory Psychology at the University of Alabama during the Spring semester of 1981. The subjects were randomly assigned to one of the eight conditions with an equal number of males and females in each cell. If any of the subjects, based on their scores on manipulation check items, realized the deception or missed the insult manipulation employed in the experiment, their data was removed from analysis and was replaced by data from additional subjects. All subjects received course credit for their participation.

Stimulus Material

Two videotapes were employed; one for the insult conditions and one for the no insult conditions. The tapes were identical except for the relevant insult manipulation. All subjects viewed two discussants (played by confederates) apparently becoming acquainted. The target person (the discussant on the right) performed positive, neutral, and negative behaviors in the tapes. In one tape, the insult manipulation was added in which the target person insulted the subjects expressing his lack of respect and dislike for college students. Although this form of insult is not personal, Steele (1975) has shown that insulting a person's membership to a group is threatening enough to have substantial effect on his or her subsequent behavior. In the other tape, employed in the no insult conditions, this sentiment was removed and replaced by a neutral regard toward college students.

Material used in the similarity-dissimilarity conditions was an attitude questionnaire (15 items taken from an attitude survey by Byrne, 1971). Subjects responded to this questionnaire by placing their answers on computerized answer sheets. Their bogus results were returned to them on computer program cards.

Procedure

Several days before viewing the videotape of the target person, subjects were given the attitude questionnaire. Subjects were told that their

scores would be computer scored and revealed to them at the time of viewing the videotape; however, this questionnaire was actually part of the similarity-dissimilarity manipulation.

The volunteers were asked to attend the viewing of the videotape in groups of 10. Upon their arrival, the experimenter explained that he was doing research on the getting acquainted process. Two people from the community volunteered to be taped for this experiment. They filled out the same attitude questionnaire as the subjects and then conversed for five minutes to get to know each other. The subjects were told that permission was granted by the volunteers to show this taped conversation.

The subjects were also told that the experimenter was interested in not only the discussants' perceptions of the getting acquainted process, but also the observers' perceptions. Since he was interested in all aspects of this process, some of the subjects would answer a questionnaire about the behavior of the disucssant on the left of the screen, some would answer questions regarding the behavior of the discussant on the right, and some both. Further, the subjects were informed that because more information regarding the getting acquainted process was needed, some of them would be assigned to interview the target person (i.e., the discussant about whom they would be answering a questionnaire) at a later time.

Finally, the subjects were handed three computer cards. The first one informed them to which discussant the computer had assigned them. The second card gave the results of their own and the target person's attitude questionnaire. And the third card informed them if they were assigned to interview the target person.

All subjects, regardless of the condition they were in, were informed on the first card that they were assigned to answer a questionnaire about the behavior of the discussant on the right. On the second card, all subjects found out how many attitude items they had in common with the target person. In the similar condition, subjects read they answered 13 out of 15 attitude items in common. In the dissimilar condition, subjects read they had 2 out of 15 attitude items in common. The third card informed them whether or not they were assigned to interview the target person. After they read their cards, the videotape was played; half of groups viewed the tape with the insult manipulation, while the others viewed the tape with the no insult manipulation. After the tape, all

subjects answered the dependent measures and manipulation check items. Finally, subjects were fully debriefed about the purpose and deception of the experiment.

Dependent Variables

The individual dependent variables employed were similar in construction to those used by Regan and Totten (1975) and Storms (1973). This type of construction used a pair of 14-point Likert scales per dependent variable. The first scale measured the subject's perception of the importance of dispositional factors in influencing a specific behavior, and the second scale measured the importance of situational factors in influencing that same behavior. The score on the situational scale was subtracted from the dispositional scale score, thus producing a "dispositional index."

The specific dependent variable employed were designed to measure the subjects' perceptions of causal attributions concerning the target person's positive, neutral, and negative behaviors. There were six dependent variables; two measured subjects' attributions of each type of behavior. One dependent variable of each type behavior was chosen from the Anderson's (1968) list of personality-trait words which have been rated by subjects to be positive, neutral, or negative. Respectively, these dependent variables were generous, restless, and boastful. In addition, one of each type behavior was a specific action performed by the target person which was rated by subjects to be positive, neutral, or negative. These variables were offering automobile assistance, pausing before speaking, and interrupting, respectively.

Results

The subjects' rating of the dispositional index of each dependent variable were summed to create three scores representing positive, neutral, and negative behavior measures. Therefore, the dispositional index scores of the two positive behaviors were summed, as were the scores of the two neutral behaviors and the scores of the the negative behaviors. These scores were subjected to multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA).

Hypothesis I stated that there would be a main effect for the insult variable on subjects' attributions. A main effect for the insult variable attained MANOVA significance (Wilks' lambda = .780, $p < .001$). Table 1 presents a summary of the MANOVA results. Since MANOVA F was significant, univariate F tests were analyzed for hypotheses concerning each behavior.

Table 1

Summary of MANOVA Results

Source	Wilks' Lamda	F-Ratio	DF	p
Insult (R)	.780	6.562	3,70	.0008
Similarity (C)	.977	.542	3,70	.6596
Observer Role (S)	.972	.682	3,70	.5693
R X C	.892	2.811	3,70	.0447
R X S	.953	1.155	3,70	.3330
C X S	.999	.015	3,70	.9970
R X C X S	.861	3.754	3,70	.0145

With respect to the target person's positive behaviors, it was predicted that subjects in the insult condition would make lower dispositional index scores than subjects in the no insult conditions. Results of the analysis of variance (ANOVA) supported this hypothesis, F (1, 76) = 3.94, $p < .05$. With respect to the target person's negative behaviors, it was predicted that subjects in the insult condition would make higher dispositional index scores than subjects in the no insult condition. Results of ANOVA supported this hypothesis, F (1, 76) = 15.80, $p < .0005$. With respect to the target person's neutral behavior, results did not support the relevant hypothesis.

Hypothesis II stated that a significant interaction would occur between insult conditions and similarity conditions. Results supported this predicted interaction (Wilks' lambda = .892, $p < .05$). Since MANOVA F was significant, univariate F tests were analyzed for hypotheses concerning each behavior. There were no significant interactions concerning attributions of the target person's positive or neutral behaviors; however, an interaction did occur with negative behaviors, F (1,72) = 5.180, $p < .025$. Since univariate F tests were significant, a cell comparison was performed to investigate the source(s) of the interaction. Based on the hypothesis, it was expected that there would exist a positive insult-dissimilarity/insult-similarity slope and a negative no insult-dissimilarity/no insult-similarity slope. A Newman-Keuls' multiple-range test was the procedure employed to investigate these cell means. Results indicated both slopes were significant in the predicted directions (ps $< .05$; see Fig. 1).

Hypothesis III stated that, overall, subjects' attributions about negative behaviors of the target person would tend to be more dispositional than attributions about positive behaviors; and attributions about positive behaviors would tend to be more dispositional than attributions about neutral behaviors. Results supported both predictions. Attributions for negative behaviors were highly dispositional (mean = 4.10, SD = 7.19), attributions for positive behaviors were slightly dispositional (mean = 1.25, SD = 6.90), and attributions for neutral behaviors were situational (mean = -2.99, SD = 5.39). Based on Newman-Keuls' multiple range test, attributions for negative behaviors were significantly more dispositional than attributions for positive behaviors ($p < .01$), and attributions for positive behaviors were significantly more dispositional than attributions for neutral behaviors ($p < .01$).

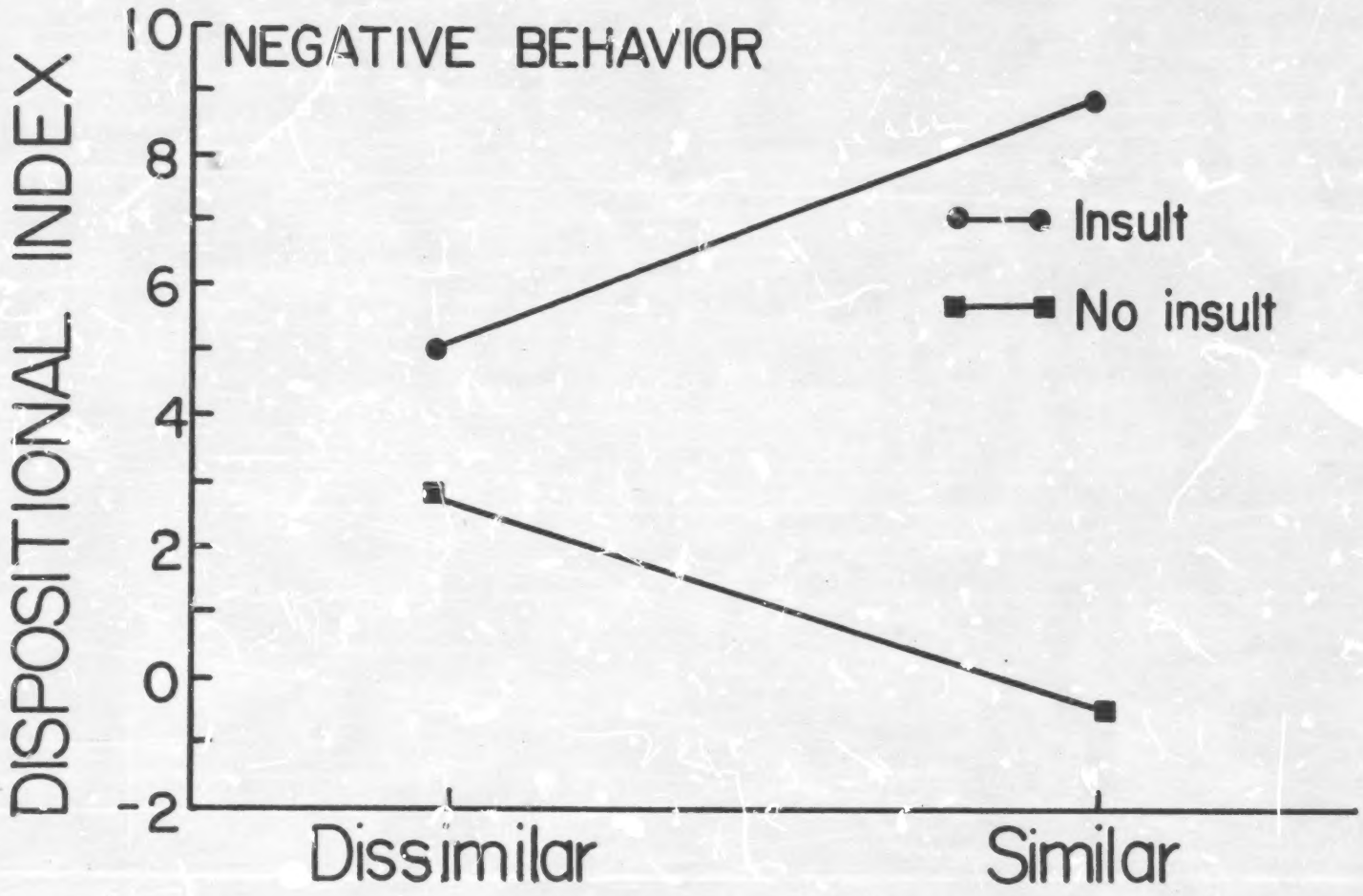

FIGURE 1

Significant interaction between Insult and Similarity variables with respect to negative behavior.

Hypothesis IV stated that with respect to all three types of the target person's behavior, subjects in the active observer role would have higher dispositional index scores than subjects in the passive observer role. Results failed to support this hypothesis.

As shown in Table 1, MANOVA results revealed a significant third-order interaction (Wilks' lambda = .861, $p < .02$). When univariate F tests were consulted, this significance was found to be due to attributions made about positive behaviors. In other words, this third-order interaction occurred only with positive behaviors, but not with neutral or negative behaviors. In the passive observer role condition, the second-order interaction was in the predicted direction; however in the active observer role condition, the second order interaction was opposite of the expected results. It was this unexpected interaction that produced the third-order interaction.

Discussion

The hypotheses made in this experiment, in general, were supported by the data. Not only were most of the results significant, but manipulation checks revealed that the experimental manipulations for producing the insult and perceived similarity were effective.

This experiment was a direct test of the Jones-Nisbett (1972) suggestion of motivational influence on causal attributions. The general significant results of Hypotheses I and II supported their statements. In addition, with respect to attributions made about different types of behavior, an interesting pattern emerged. Specifically, a main effect for the insult variable was significant with respect to positive behaviors and extremely significant with respect to negative behaviors; however, no effect was demonstrated concerning neutral behaviors. This pattern, to a large extent, was repeated for the predicted interaction between insult and similarity variables. The interaction was significant with respect to negative behaviors, apparent with respect to positive behaviors (but did not reach significance), and did not exist with reference to neutral behaviors. Why should these predictions occur for negative behavior, exist marginally for positive behaviors, and be nonexistent for neutral behaviors?

One possible explanation may be found from the results of Hypothesis III. These results demonstrated that attributions about negative behaviors tend to be highly dispositional, attributions about positive behaviors tend to be slightly dispositional, and attributions about neutral behaviors tend to be

situational, which is in correspondence with findings by Jones and Davis (1965). Thus, it may be that the manipulations in this experiment (i.e., insult and similarity) were effective in influencing subjects' attributions only when the target person's behaviors could not be readily explained by situational factors. Because neutral behaviors tend to be typical, they do not give the subject information about the target person's personality. Manipulating the subject's affect toward the target person would not change the subject's attributions about these neutral behaviors because they can be unambiguously explained by situational factors. On the other hand, positive behaviors, and especially negative behaviors, because of their atypicalness, are more susceptible to manipulations of motivational factors.

The one main hypothesis made which was not supported by the data was that subjects in the active observer role would make more dispositional attributions than subjects in the passive observer role. It is believed that a flaw in the experimental design may have contributed to the failure to achieve this difference. Analysis of separate scores on the dispositional and situational attribution scales revealed that subjects in the active observer role tended to make higher situational scores than subjects in the passive observer role. This may have occurred because the active subject, expecting to do an interview with the target person later, was imagining himself or herself in the discussant's role. Thus, the active subject may have empathized with the target person, and as Regan and Totten (1975) found, empathic subjects make more situational attributions than non-empathic subjects. The nonsignificant results for the observer role variable, therefore, may have been due to the unfortunate choice of how active observer role was manipulated.

Be this as it may, an unexpected third-order interaction revealed that active observer role does affect subjects' attributions in certain manners. Passive subjects showed the predicted interaction between insult and similarity, but active subjects demonstrated a different interaction (with respect to positive behaviors). When these active subjects perceived themselves similar to the target person, the insult variable did not affect attributions, but when these active subjects perceived themselves dissimilar, the insult variable affected attributions in the expected direction.

The empathic observer principle might explain this result, also. Active observers may have identified greatly with the perceived similar

target person, and thus, this empathy suppressed the effects of the insult variable; however, the influence of the insult variable reexerted itself in the percieved dissimilar condition when empathy was reduced. Therefore, it appears that the present study caused the active observers, who anticipated future performance, to empathize with the target person, which produced greater situational attributions from these subjects.

The present experiment contributes to the knowledge on attribution theory in three areas. First, it points out the importance of motivational factors on observers' attributions. Most attribution experiments involving observers have concentrated on cognitive and visual orientation factors, but have ignored the effect observers' affect toward the actor may have on attributions. Inconsistent results in the the literature may be explained by the fact that the experimenter failed to consider the influence of the subjects' affect toward the actor.

Second, this experiment contributes to the literature on attribution theory by demonstrating an interaction between perceived similarity and insult on causal attributions. Previously, this interaction has been shown to exist in the attraction literature, but has been ignored by attribution theorists.

Finally, this experiment has shown that motivational factors are not similarly affected by the role of the observer. It points out that additional research will need to explore this area further to more fully understand the relationship between observer role and observers' attributions.

The results from this experiment are also clinically relevant. In psychotherapy, it is important for the therapist to help the client to become aware of his or her motivation for behavior. The therapist, therefore, has to be knowledgeable about the causes of the client's behavior. At one level, the therapist needs to know if the client's actions (e.g., aggression, improvement in therapy, etc.) result from dispositional or situational factors. This experiment has demonstrated that the observer's affect and perceived similarity toward the actor may influence the observer's causal attributions. The clinician should be aware of these influences, so he or she can try to maintain accurate attributions about the client's behavior.

References

Anderson, N. H. Likableness ratings of 555 personality-trait words. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1968, 9, 272-279.

Berscheid, E., Graziano, W., Monson, T., & Dermer, M. Outcome dependency: Attention, attribution, and attraction. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1976, 34, 978-989.

Bradley, G. W. Self-serving biases in the attribution process: A re-examination of the fact or fiction question. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1978, 36, 56-71.

Byrne, D. interpersonal attraction and attitude sumilarity. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1961, 62, 713-715.

Byrne, D. The attraction paradigm. New York; Academic Press, 1971.

Byrne, D., & Nelson, D. The effect of topic importance and attitude similarity-dissimilarity on attraction in a mult-stranger design. Psychonomic Science, 1965, 3, 440-450.

Heider, R. The psychology of interpersonal relations. New York: Wiley, 1958.

Imamoglu, E. O. Attribution of intentionality as a function of age, outcome quality and affect for the actor. European Journal of Social Psychology, 1976, 6, 25-38.

Jones, E. E., & Davis, K. E. From acts to dispositions: The attribution process in person perception. In L. Berkowitz (Ed.). Advances in Experimental Social Psychology, 1967, 3, 1-24.

Jones, E. E., & Nisbett, R. E. The actor and the observer: Divergent perceptions of the causes of behavior. In E. E. Jones, D. Kanouse, H. H. Kelly, R. E. Nisbett, S. Valins, & B. Weiner (Eds.). Attribution: Perceiving the causes of behavior. New York: General Learning Press, 1972.

Kelly, H. Attribution theory in social psychology. In D. Levine (Ed.), Nebraska symposium on motivation. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1967.

Miller, D., & Norman, S. Actor-observer differences in perception of effective control. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1975, 31, 379-389.

Novak, D., & Lerner, M. Rejection as a consequence of perceived similarity. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1968, 9, 147-152.

Regan, D., Straus, E., & Fazio, R. Liking and the attribution process. Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 1974, 10, 385-397.

Regan, D., & Totten, J. Empathy and attribution: Turning observers into actors. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1975, 32, 850-856.

Steele, C. M. Name-calling and compliance. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1975, 31, 361-369.

Stein, D. D., Hardyck, J., & Smith, M. B. Race and belief: An open and shut case. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1965, 1, 281-289.

Storms, M. D. Videotape and the attribution process: Reversing actors' and observers' points of view. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1973, 27, 165-175.

Taylor, S. E., & Mettee, D. R. When similarity breeds contempt. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1971, 20, 75-81.